

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 018250  
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TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 018250

FOL REPEAT IAEA VIENNA 0536 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USERDA  
HQ WASHDC USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN DTD 21 JAN.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L IAEA VIENNA 0536

PASS IO/SCT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG, IAEA, PARM

SUBJECT: PROPOSAL TO EXPAND IAEA BOARD MEMBERSHIP - SOME  
SOBERING THOUGHTS

SUMMARY: PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO ALERT DEPART-  
MENT TO PROPOSAL WHICH WILL BE INTRODUCED TO FEBRUARY  
MEETING OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS BY GROUP OF LDC'S TO  
EXPAND MEMBERSHIP OF BOARD AND TO SERIOUS IMPLICA-  
TIONS SUCCESS OF SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD POSE FOR THE  
ROLE OF THE IAEA IN THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION  
EFFORT. END SUMMARY.

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1. LIST OF AGENDA ITEMS FOR FEBRUARY MEETING OF  
IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS (CIRCULATED AS GOV/1817,  
REPORTED IN DETAIL VIA SEPTTEL) INCLUDES ITEM ENTITLED  
"AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE VI OF THE STATUTE" (WHICH PROVIDES  
FOR SELCETION OF MEBERS OF THE BOARD). INSCRIPTION  
OF ITEM WAS REQUESTED JOINTLY BY PAKISTAN, EGYPT,  
LIBYA AND NIGERIA. EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM HAS

NOT YET BEEN ISSUED AND DETAILS OF WHAT WILL BE SOUGHT BY CO-SPONSORS ARE NOT YET KNOWN TO MISSION. HOWEVER, REPS OF PAKISTAN AND EGYPT HAVE TOLD MISOFFS THAT THEY WISH TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS AT BG AIMED AT REVISING ARTICLE VI "TO CORRECT INEQUITIES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL MAKEUP OF THE BOARD". BY THIS, ACCORDING TO THE SPONSORS, IS MEANT TO PROVIDE FOR ADDITIONAL SEATS FOR THE REGIONS OF MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA AND AFRICA, WHICH, UNDER ARTICLE VI AS MOST RECENTLY REVISED, HAVE LOWEST DEGREE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ON BOARD.

2. THIS ARTICLE OF THE STATUTE HAS BEEN REVISED TWICE IN THE AGENCY'S HISTORY. IN 1963, THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARD WAS INCREASED FROM 23 TO 25 AFTER TWO YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND LABORIOUS INTERNAL PROCEDURES ON PART OF MEMBER STATES. THE SECOND REVISION ENTERED INTO FORCE IN 1973 FOLLOWING THREE YEARS OF TEDIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND RESULTED IN AN INCREASE OF NINE ADDITIONAL BOARD SEATS. ADDRESSEES MAY RECALL THAT THIS EXERCISE WAS INITIATED BY ITALY WITH THE SOLE AIM OF PROCURING FOR ITSELF CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP ON THE BOARD. HOWEVER, ONCE NEGOTIATIONS ON REVISION HAD BEGUN OTHER AREAS INSISTED ON ADDITIONAL SEATS AS THE PRICE OF ACCOMMODATING ITALY'S AMBITIONS.

3. REGARDLESS OF WHAT IS SPECIFICALLY PROPOSED, CONFIDENTIAL

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THEREFORE, IT IS UNLIKELY IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING THAT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF SUCH AN EXERCISE WOULD RESULT MERELY IN THE ADDITION OF WHATEVER MAY BE NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL SEATS BEING SOUGHT SPECIFICALLY BY THE CO-SPONSORS IN THEIR OWN PARTICULAR INTERESTS. OTHER GEOGRAPHIC AREAS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY COME FORWARD WITH BIDS OF THEIR OWN FOR GREATER REPRESENTATION. RECALL THAT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, COMPETITION FOR DESIGNATION OR ELECTION TO THE POWERFUL BOARD OF GOVERNORS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MORE NOTABLE POLITICAL TENDENCIES WITHIN THE AGENCY'S GOVERNING BODIES. THIS RIVALRY HAS BEEN EVIDENT IN ALL REGIONS SAVE NORTH AMERICA AND EASTERN EUROPE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN 1975, THE NEW REGIME IN SOUTH VIETNAM LOST ELECTION TO THE BOARD BY A NARROW MARGIN, AND IN THE SAME YEAR NORTH KOREA WAS BARELY PERSUADED FROM PUTTING FORWARD ITS CANDIDACY. IRAQ, WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED NOTHING BUT IRRELEVANT POLITICAL CONTROVERSY TO

THE AGENCY'S AFFAIRS, WAS AN EAGER THOUGH UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE FOR THE BOARD LAST YEAR. THE POINT WE WISH TO MAKE IS THAT ANY REVISION OF THIS ARTICLE WOULD PROVIDE THE LDC COMPONENT OF THE AGENCY'S MEMBERSHIP (MOST NOTABLY) WITH A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO ESCAPE FROM TROUBLESOME CONTESTS AMONG THEMSELVES FOR BOARD SEATS, AND AT THE SAME TIME DESTROY THE PRESENT BALANCE OF INTERESTS THE BOARD NOW REPRESENTS, REPLACING IT WITH A MEMBERSHIP MORE FAITHFULLY REFLECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE "GROUP OF 77"; OF THE "HAVE NOTS" RATHER THAN THE "HAVES", OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD RATHER THAN OF THE "SUPPLIERS".

4. IN ORDER TO GAUGE THE EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON THE AGENCY AND, BY EXTENSION, ON THE GREAT RELIANCE PLACE ON IT BY THE USG IN ITS NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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PROLIFERATION EFFORTS, IT IS WORTHWHILE TO RECALL THAT UNDER THE STATUTE THE BOARD IS NOT ONLY THE PRINCIPAL ORGAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AGENCY'S PROGRAM AND BUDGET, AS WELL AS FOR SELECTION OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL, BUT IS THE SOLE RPT SOLE AGENCY ORGAN VESTED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENTS AND APPROVING THE APPOINTMENT OF AGENCY INSPECTORS. PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK GIVEN IT UNDER THE STATUTE, HOWEVER, IS TO SIT AS A TRIBUNAL IN CASES WHERE THE DG FEELS OBLIGED TO REPORT THAT HE IS UNABLE THROUGH NO FAULT OF HIS OWN, TO CARRY OUT THE AGENCY'S SAFEGUARDS RESPONSIBILITIES IN A PARTICULAR COUNTRY. IT IS AT THIS POINT THAT THE BOARD WOULD DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM INVOLVED SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE ABOVE THAT A MARKED ALTERATION IN THE CLIMATE OF THE BOARD AS NOW CONSTITUTED -- GENERALLY RESPONSIBLE AND SOBER -- WOULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR INTERESTS IN THE AGENCY ITSELF.

5. THE TIME IS PAST WHEN WE COULD SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE AGENCY WAS UNIQUE AMONG INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THAT IT WAS FREE FROM EXTRANEIOUS POLITICS AND CONCERNED ONLY WITH ITS TECHNICAL MANDATE. ANY ILLUSIONS ON THIS CSORE SHOULD HAVE BEEN SHATTERED BY THE BEHAVIOR OF THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE IN RIO, WHICH NOT ONLY ADMITTED THE PLO AS AN OBSERVER TO ALL FUTURE SESSIONS BUT, UNDER PRESSURE FROM ELEMENTS OF THE

THIRD WORLD, ACQUIESCED IN A RESOLUTION REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ALL BUT CALLED ON THE BOARD TO VIOLATE THE STATUTE. QUITE ASIDE FROM THESE ISSUES, EVEN MORE TROUBLING HAVE BEEN COMMENTS MADE HERE AND AT RIO TO ME AND OTHER OFFICERS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MISSION BY THIRD WORLD REPS TO THE EFFECT TMAT TIME HAS COME TO "BRING THE AGENCY INTO LINE WITH OTHER UN ORGANIZATIONS." THE PROPOSAL FOR STATUTE REVISION APPEARS TO US TO BE AIMED AT ACHIEVING PRICESELY THAT.

6. THE ENORMOUS DEGREE OF SUPPORT-BOTH MATERIAL AND MORAL-WHICH THE USG HAS PROVIDED THE AGENCY, PARTICULARLY IN RECENT YEARS, IS WELL KNOWN AND NEEDLESS TO SAY IS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HIGH DEGREE OF PROFESSIONALISM AND EXPERTISE POSSESSED BY THE AGENCY STAFF. THE GROUP OF 77 IS ALSO AWARE OF THE STRONG U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE AGENCY AND IT IS REASONABLE TO SUPPOSE THAT CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THAT GROUP HAVE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. WILL ACQUIESCE IN ALMOST ANY MEASURE THEY ADVANCE PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THAT COMMITMENT.

7. REVISION OF THE STATUTE (SEE ARTICLE XVIII) IS ACCOMPLISHED ON APPROVAL BY TWO-THIRDS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND COMES INTO FORCE WHEN TWO-THIRDS OF THE MEBER STATES HAVE DEPOSITED INSTRUMENT OF ACCEPTANCE. ON BASIS OF PAST EXPERIENCE, PROCESS WOULD TAKE 2-3 YEARS OF TIME CONSUMING EFFORT. WHILE IT IS TOO SOON TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC TACTICS WE MIGHT ADOPT TO OPPOSE REVISION OF ARTICLE VI, DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT WE MAY WISH TO MOUNT MAJOR EFFORT THIS YEAR IN SELECTED CAPITALS TO PREVENT TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FROM MATERIALIZING.

8. I DO NOT WISH TO MISLEAD DEPARTMENT BY APPEARING TO OVERSTRESS SERIOUSNESS OF WHAT COULD RESULT FROM THIS PROPSAL, SHOULD WE BE UNABLE TO FORESTALL IT. HOWEVER, THE ISSUES AT STAKE ARE TOO IMPORTANT NOT TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY THOSE IN USG INVOLVED IN THE SHAPING OF OUR NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES.

9. PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR IS CALLING ON ME 1/26  
TO DISCUSS THE ARTICLE VI REVISION PROPOSAL AND  
I WILL REPORT RESULTS OF OUR CONVERSATION. I  
WOULD APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, DEPARTMENT'S INITIAL  
REACTION TO THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO THAT TIME.STONE

UNQUOTE VANCE

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** AORG, PARM, IAEA  
**To:** ISLAMABAD  
**Type:** TE  
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